

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-07

DHA-05 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10 /114 W

-----048346 101539Z /45

O 101450Z SEP 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8759

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 4684

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 8

REF: STATE 216875

1. THE MAIN CONSIDERATION IN DEVISING THE WITHDRAWAL

SCENARIO CONTAINED REFTEL WAS TO ESTABLISH A STARTING POINT FROM WHICH TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE TWO SIDES. THE OBJECTIVE FROM THERE IS, OF COURSE, TO FIND A BALANCE BETWEEN SWAPO'S CONCERN WITH THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF THE SAG'S MILITARY PRESENCE AND SOUTH AFRICA'S CONCERN FOR SECURITY.

2. UNDER OUR PROPOSALS THE BALANCE IS TIPPED TOWARD SOUTH

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AFRICA IN THE SENSE THAT (A) THE POLICE WOULD REMAIN IN PLACE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER; (B) A RESIDUAL MILITARY PRESENCE WOULD BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN AT GROOTFONTEIN AND PRESUMABLY WALVIS BAY WOULD CONTINUE AS SA TERRITORY FOR A WHILE LONGER WITH SA FORCES STATIONED THERE; AND (C) SWAPO FORCES WOULD BE REQUIRED TO LEAVE THE TERRITORY AND UN FORCES WOULD MOVE

IN TO PREVENT INCURSIONS FROM ANGOLA, WHETHER SWAPO OR CUBAN.
SWAPO, ON THE OTHER HAND, MUST BE CONTENT WITH A STRONG UN
PRESENCE TO INSURE AN APPROPRIATE CLIMATE.

3. GIVEN THIS CORRELATION, WE ANTICIPATE THAT SWAPO WILL
WANT THE WITHDRAWAL OF SA FORCES TO TAKE PLACE AT A FAIRLY
RAPID PACE. WE PROJECTED A SUBSTANTIAL WITHDRAWAL BY THE
END OF THREE MONTHS AS A MEANS OF WINNING SWAPO'S ACQUIES-
CENCE TO THE PACKAGE. WHETHER IN THE END THE WITHDRAWAL
PLAN SPANS THREE OR FIVE MONTHS AND THE RESIDUAL FORCE
IS FIXED AT 500 OR 2,000 ARE MATTERS THAT WILL BE DETERMINED
BY THE FLEXIBILITY OF THE PARTIES IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

4. IN ADDRESSING THE SOUTH AFRICANS ON THE WITHDRAWAL
ISSUE WE SHOULD ALSO BEAR IN MIND--AND USE AS AN ARGUMENT
FOR EARLY WITHDRAWAL--THAT THE SAG JUSTIFIES ITS MILITARY
PRESSENCE IN NAMIBIA IN TERMS OF THE SWAPO AND CUBAN "THREAT"
FROM ANGOLA. (SEE PRETORIA 3807). IF SWAPO ACCEPTS THE
COMMITMENT TO CEASE ARMED INTERVENTION (AS VORSTER DEMANDED
IN OUR MEETING OF AUGUST 1) AND THE UN MOVES IN ELEMENTS
ALONG THE ANGOLA-NAMIBIA BORDER TO ENFORCE THE CEASEFIRE,
A VERY SUBSTANTIAL PART OF SOUTH AFRICA'S CASE FOR KEEPING
TROOPS IN NAMIBIA IS REMOVED.

5. IN BARGAINING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS WE OBVIOUSLY
DO NOT WANT TO ADVANCE PROPOSALS THAT MIGHT PROVOKE THEM
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INTO EMOTIONAL REACTIONS WHICH WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE WHOLE
EFFORT; BUT THEY ARE TOUGH NEGOTIATORS AND, AS THE CONTACT
GROUP HAS EXPERIENCED, ARE QUITE ADEPT AT USING THEATRICS
AND THREATS TO GAIN POINTS. AS A NEGOTIATING TACTIC, I
RECOMMEND THAT IN WHATEVER WITHDRAWAL PLAN MIGHT BE SUGGESTED
TO THEM WE MIGHT INITIALLY LEAVE A FEW DATES AND FORCE LEVELS
BLANK TO TEST THEIR REACTION, EMPHASIZING AT THE SAME TIME
HOW THE LAW AND ORDER/SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ARE SKEWED IN
THEIR FAVOR.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARMED FORCES, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, TROOP DEPLOYMENT, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRETOR04684
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770328-1241
Format: TEL
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770977/aaaacnma.tel
Line Count: 104
Litigation Code IDs:
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Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a5ef0d49-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 216875
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1318818
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 8
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA, UN, SWAPO
To: STATE USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a5ef0d49-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009